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XV.—THE ENGLISH COMEDIANS IN GERMANY
BEFORE THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR :
THE FINANCIAL SIDE.

Perhaps no portion of the chapters of Moryson's Itinerary, published in 1903 under the somewhat unexpected title of "Shakespeare's Europe," has aroused more interest than his brief passage¹ about the so-called English comedians, whom he saw at the Frankfort fair in September, 1592. Of the few contemporary accounts known to us his is the only one from an English source and probably the only one written by a man whose previous acquaintance with the theater fitted him in any way to judge of the merits of such performances.

The passage was interesting also for the tantalizing hopes which it held out of further revelations in other parts of his writings. The question still remains unsettled how far, if at all, professional acting had progressed in Germany before the arrival of these Englishmen. Therefore, when Moryson says, "Germany hath some fewe wandring Comeydians, more

¹Germany hath some fewe wandring Comeydians, more deseruing pittie then prayse, for the serious parts are dully penned, and worse acted, and the mirth they make is ridiculous, and nothing lesse then witty (as I formerly haue shewed). So as I remember that when some of our cast dispised Stage players came out of England into Germany, and played at Franckford in the tyme of the Mart, hauing nether a Complete number of Actours, nor any good Apparell, nor any ornament of the Stage, yet the Germans, not vnderstanding a worde they sayde, both men and women, flocked wonderfully to see theire gesture and Action, rather then heare them, speaking English which they vnderstoode not, and pronowncing peeces and Patches of English playes, which my selfe and some English men there present could not heare without great wearysomenes. Yea myselfe Comming from Franckford in the Company of some cheefe marchants Dutch and Flemish, heard them often bragg of the good marktett they had made, only Condoling that they had not the leasure to heare the English players. *Shakespeare's Europe*, p. 304.

deseruing pittie then prayse . . . (as I formerly haue shewed),” his words gave rise to the hope that elsewhere he might have said something which would help settle the question. A search of the “Itinerary”¹ publisht in his lifetime and a letter to the editor of the newly issued chapters were the natural results of such a hope, but the book yielded nothing, and the kind reply of Mr. Hughes stated that he knew of nothing in the manuscript about players in Germany which he had not had printed. It is, therefore, only too certain that we can gain no more information on the subject from Moryson.

The investigation has, however, had one unexpected outcome. Moryson had almost a mania for recording prices, as the pages of his old “Itinerary” bear abundant witness. Wherever he went, he entered solemnly the cost of his daily food and travel. Therefore it seemed worth while to combine the testimony on this point of such a painstaking contemporary witness with what we already know about the prices of admission and the size of the companies of these English comedians, and thus to reach some conclusion as to the financial returns of these tours to the individual actor. The conclusion is valid only for the period before the ‘Thirty Years’ War, without excluding too carefully the first few years after the outbreak of hostilities, for the conditions were radically altered after the return of peace.

The managers found such enterprises profitable in the main, of course, or companies would not have continued to go over from England till the increasing devastation of the war made such undertakings impossible. That is the natural explanation of the fact that for more than thirty years from 1592 on, the restless activity of different managers levied tribute on all Germany, so that there is good reason to

¹*An Itinerary Written By Fynes Moryson Gent., London, 1617.*

believe that practically every court and every town of any importance was visited once, if not repeatedly.

Without any evidence on the subject of earnings we can, of course, say in advance that some of the actors, at least, must have found touring in Germany profitable, or they would not have returned. I am disposed to think that the English language was retained longer in the representations of these comedians than has often been estimated, for we find a company playing in English at Loitz¹ in 1606, but the dropping of English and the substitution of German, in part or in whole, presupposes that at least some of the actors in every company, in addition to those of German birth, were not fresh importations from England. Some of them must have made many tours; the existence of the companies was impossible on any other supposition. To be sure, their notions of what was profitable must have been very modest. The actor of to-day makes his reputation at home and then goes abroad. Theirs was the contrary case. As Moryson tersely puts it, they were "cast dispised Stage players." They faced starvation at home and therefore had nothing to lose in a foreign venture. The often quoted undated letter² which Richard Jones, who went to the

¹ *Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, XXXVIII, p. 203.

² Mr Allen, I commend my love and humble duty to you, geving you thanks for yo^r great bounty bestoed upon me in my sicknes, when I was in great want: god blesse you for it. Sir, this it is, I am to go over beyond the sees w^t Mr Browne and the company, but not by his meanes, for he is put to half a shaer, and to stay hear, for they ar all against his going: now, good Sir, as you have ever byne my worthie frend, so helpe me nowe. I have a sute of clothes and a cloke at pane for three pound, and if it shall pleas you to lend me so much to release them, I shall be bound to pray for you so longe as I leve; for if I go over, and have no clothes, I shall not be esteemed of; and, by gods help, the first mony that I gett I will send it over unto you, for hear I get nothinge: some tymes I have a shillinge a day, and some tymes nothinge, so that I leve in great poverty

continent in the troupe of 1592 and was therefore presumably at Frankfort at the time of Moryson's visit, wrote to Edward Alleyn, shows what must have been the common condition of the actors going abroad. The shilling a day which he sometimes earned and sometimes not, so that he lived in great poverty, would make even small returns welcome in Germany. Fortunately Moryson has told us what he found necessary to spend annually on the continent, and we therefore have a satisfactory basis for our calculations.

Before turning to them, however, we must notice how he measured¹ German money in terms of English. The silver gulden and the reichsthaler are chiefly to be considered. The former, whether called gulden or florin, was, as he explained, a common basis of reckoning, though not actually coined. The thaler was worth, in his opinion, four shillings four pence in English money at the time of his travels on the continent. It passed for 24 groshens, or 32 Lübeck shillings, while the gulden was estimated at 21 groshens, or 28 Lübeck shillings. This gives the gulden $\frac{7}{8}$ of the value of the thaler. Or, to use the coins more common in South Germany, he valued the thaler at 18 batzens, of four kreuzers each, or 72 kreuzers, and the gulden at 15 batzens, or 60 kreuzers. This calculation makes the gulden $\frac{5}{6}$ of the thaler. The batzen he valued at three pence English. Other German coins, which he mentions in much detail, are unnecessary for our purpose. Of course, these estimates are inconsistent, but he was as consistent as the facts, for the thaler and gulden, as measured in groshens and kreuzers,

hear, and so humbly take my leave, prainge to god, I and my wiffe, for
yo^r health and mistiss Allene's, which god continew.

Yo^r poor frend to command,

Richard Jones.

Collier's *The Alleyn Papers* (London, 1843), p. 19.

¹ *Itinerary*, I, pp. 285 f.

actually varied considerably in different parts of the country. If the actors could earn as much as an English gentleman of that period found necessary for comfortable travel, we may be sure that they were better off than at home. Moreover, by this method of comparison we are spared the necessity of considering the vagaries of German coins in the many years from that time to the establishment of the present standard and the debasement of English money after 1600.

Moryson's statement about the cost of travel is as follows: "Fifty or sixty pounds sterling yeerely, were sufficient at the time when I was beyond sea, to beare the charge of a Trauellers diet, necessary apparrell, and two iournies yeerely, in the Spring and Autumne, and also to serue him for moderate expences of pleasure, so that hee imitated not the Germans, who drinke and banquet as much abroad, as at home, nor the Italians, who liue they among Christians or Pagans, yet cannot restraine their incontinency; nor the Polonians, who being perhaps the sonnes of Castellani, (I mean such as haue the keeping of Castles, or like entertainments from the King onely for their life), commonly spend more prodigally in Italy, and like places, then at home, so as many times they spend their whole patrimony abroad. In which kind I cannot but commend our Countrimen, who howsoever at home they may haue spent prodigally, yet going beyond seas, rather dispose their expences to reparaire this former prodigalitie then otherwise and practise the rule of the Poet,

Intra fortunam quamque manere suam :
Each man his cote to fit,
As his cloth will permit.

But I returne to the purpose, & since it is cōvenient, for him that trauels, to make two iournies yeerely in the Spring and Autumne, and since in these iournies his expences will be

greater then when he abides in Cities, as wel for the hiring of Coches and horses, as for his diet in common Innes, hee must bee carefull to take the opportunity to moderate his expences, when he settles himself to abide some moneths in any place.”¹

A few of the prices mentioned by Moryson may do duty for all.² At Hamburg he paid four Lübeck shillings for each meal and one shilling for his bed. In Lübeck the meals were four shillings each, while his bed was free, and a quart of Rhenish wine cost him five shillings. This indicates that his board and lodging in Hamburg and Lübeck amounted to a trifle more than a thaler a week. In Wittenberg things were somewhat cheaper, for, as he puts it: “I paid a Gulden weekly for my diet and beere, which they account apart, and for my chamber after the rate of tenn Guldens by the yeare. I heare that since all things are dearer; the Schollars vsing to pay each weeke a Doller for their diet, and a Doller for chamber and washing.” In Leipzig he “lodged with a rich Citizen, and for diet, bed, and chamber, paid weekly a Doller and a halfe.” At Nuremberg he paid six batzens for a meal and three kreuzers for his chamber. The price for a meal was six batzens at Strassburg and Heidelberg. At Frankfort, made dearer by the fair, the inns asked seven or eight batzens a meal, “but Merchants and many strangers vse to hire a chamber and buy their meat at the Cookes.” He gives as a general average for the cost of a meal in Northern Germany about four Lübeck shillings, in Middle Germany about four batzens, in Southern Germany about six or seven batzens, while horse hire in both Switzerland and Germany was six or seven batzens a day. His travel from Hamburg to

¹ *Itinerary*, III, p. 13.

² These prices are taken from the many mentioned here and there throughout the whole of Part I of the *Itinerary*.

Leipzig in a merchant's coach cost him, all charges included, ten gold guldens (the gold gulden being valued at 36 Lübeck shillings, or four shillings more than the reichsthaler), and he thought he paid too much. From Dresden to Prague a coach cost him and four others together 14 thalers. The same number expended 50 thalers for a coach from Frankfort to Hamburg, "and besides were to pay for the coach-mans diet, for here first the coach-man conditioned to be free from paying his diet, vulgarly Maulfrey; that is free for the mouth, whereas in other parts our coach-men paid for themselves." We find also that, being about to sail from Denmark to Prussia, he expended 12 Danish shillings for half a lamb and six shillings for 30 eggs, 66 Danish shillings making one thaler. Two hens cost him five groshens and a stoop of wine (a measure somewhat larger than an English quart) ten groshens at Danzig. Of purchases at Cracow, in preparation for a journey into Italy, he says: "I bought a horse for eightene Guldens. . . . I paid fiftene grosh for a paire of shooes, fifty for a paire of boots, nine for spurs, two guldens and a halfe for a saddle, a gulden and a halfe for other furniture for my iourney, nine grosh for stirrups, eight grosh for four horse shoes, and eight grosh for each bushel of oats." With such prices as these it is no wonder that his expenses on the continent could be met by £60 a year.

As we have already seen, Moryson's statements about the relative value of English pound and German thaler and gulden are inconsistent. Using them, we find the value of £60 varying between 266 and 276 thalers, or 315 and 332 guldens. As the amounts to be considered are small, we need not try to be more accurate than he was and may take in each case approximately the higher number, valuing £60 therefore at 275 Reichsthalers, or 330 guldens.

It happens that we have some evidence to show what

was considered good pay for this class of professionals. I mention only two cases. The English musicians and acrobats (who were also possibly actors) engaged by the elector of Saxony in 1586, asked and received compensation at the rate of 100 thalers yearly and their board.¹ The correspondence between the king of Denmark and the elector of Saxony on the subject proves that these terms were unusually high. In February, 1614, the elector of Brandenburg agreed to pay Archer and three others 100 florins each annually with free board and two suits of clothes. Making a liberal allowance for board and clothing on the basis of Moryson's prices, we get a total considerably below what he estimated as the expenses of a year abroad.

If we now return to these wandering actors and assume an average of 180 performances annually with a company of fifteen, an attendance of 500, and an entrance fee of three kreuzers, we have for each player, if all shared alike, total annual earnings of 300 gulden, a sum which many a

¹The date is added here, as well as hereafter, to do away with the necessity of numerous notes. The reader is referred once for all to the convenient summary in chronological order given in Goedeke's *Grundriss*, II, pp. 524 f. (Zweite Auflage, Dresden, 1886). Practically all the literature mentioned by him has been accessible to me. Much literature on the subject has, of course, appeared since the writing of Goedeke's volume. Not all of it treats of facts that could be used in the preparation of this paper, but the following should be noticed: *Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, XXI, pp. 245-276, for Cologne; *the same*, XXXVI, pp. 273-276, for additional material about Münster and Ulm; *Archiv für Literaturgeschichte*, XIV, pp. 113-136, for Nuremberg; *the same*, XV, pp. 113-125, for Strassburg, and pp. 211-217 for Stuttgart and Tübingen, and for additional material about Ulm; *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Literaturgeschichte*, VII, pp. 60-67, for Rothenburg; Bolte, *Das Danziger Theater im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Hamburg, 1895, for Danzig. To these may be added Creizenach's introductory essay in his edition of *Die Schauspiele der englischen Komödianten* (Kürschner, vol. 23) and Herz, *Englische Schauspieler und englisches Schauspiel zur Zeit Shakespeares in Deutschland*, Hamburg, 1903.

worthy and fairly prosperous German of that time would have considered large, and which approximates with reasonable closeness Moryson's yearly expenditures.¹ An examination of each of the elements of this assumption may serve to show its general trustworthiness.

The supposition of 180 performances annually is possibly too large. Representations at night were certainly practically unknown during most or all of the period in question. The afternoon was the regular time, altho on special occasions the forenoon was not impossible. Being thus restricted under ordinary conditions to one representation a day, the probability that a company could play on the average every other day, as would be required to make a total of 180 performances annually, is therefore questionable. It was necessary to have in each case the permission of the town council to play before the general public. That was not always granted, and tho we may well believe that supplication to the council was often made in advance, while the troupe was playing elsewhere, such was not always the case. Permission, if granted, was regularly for a definite time, and troupes often lingered on vainly after its expiration in the hope of its prolongation. In the larger places two weeks seems to have been regarded as the regular limit. Permission to play longer was often given and often refused. Nor did the company necessarily play every day of the period allotted. Thus, we find one at Münster in November,

¹The reichsthaler of the time of Moryson's travels was equivalent to \$1.11+ of our money. This result is reached by valuing the old thaler at M. 4.6771 and the dollar at M. 4.1979 (both mark and dollar of the present gold standard). Three kreuzers, counting 72 to the thaler, were therefore equivalent to 4.6+ cents. The question to be considered, expressed roughly in terms of the money of the United States, is whether these actors could earn annually towards \$300 with an admission price of somewhat less than five cents. The far greater purchasing power of money in those days has been already shown by the prices paid by Moryson.

1601, playing five successive days, another almost daily at Graz for about two weeks in February, 1608, while eight plays in two weeks were all that were allowed at Nuremberg in July, 1628, and fourteen in four weeks at Danzig in August, 1615. Something analogous to what happened at the latter two places was probably nearer the rule than the exception in the larger towns. With all the delays incident to travel at that time, with the frequent coyness or arbitrariness of town councils, with the difficulty or impossibility of finding between the larger places on the route smaller towns which might lessen the expense of travel by permitting a succession of one day stands, we may well believe that 180 representations a year were probably as often hoped for as attained.

Regarding the number of players to a company our information is more definite. Arranging the reports according to towns and without here attempting to show how far the organizations mentioned in the same year were actually under the same leadership in spite of slightly varying numbers, we find the statistics of the number of persons as follows: 14 in January, 1604, and 16 in May, 1605, at Nördlingen; 14 at Ulm in August, 1606; 15 at Nuremberg in April, 1602; 11 at Münster in November, 1601; 12 in August, 1596, 13 in December, 1599, 17 in May and 16 in June, 1605, 14 in June, 1606, 17 in June, 1618, at Strassburg; some 10 in May, 1597, at Tübingen; 12 at Easter, 1602, 18 (of whom 7 were apparently exclusively musicians) at Easter, 1605, at Frankfort; 18 in August, 1615 and 1616, at Danzig; 12 in April, 1600, at Cologne. Spencer is reported as having 19 players and 16 musicians at Königsberg in 1611, and is credited with 24, all Englishmen except one German and one Dutchman, at the time of his conversion to Catholicism at Cologne in 1615. He seems to have had 19 players and 15 musicians at Frankfort

at Easter, 1614, and in his vain petition to the council for permission to charge higher prices he claims that other companies "nur halb so viel leutt und viel weniger unkosten gehabt." We see at a glance that 15 is quite an average company on the basis of these figures, except in the case of Spencer, and we know that he did not ordinarily travel with so large a troupe. We can indeed safely assume that the actual number of players, including musicians, to the company was less than 15. That is, all the persons traveling with the managers were not necessarily fullfledged actors or musicians. Women were not even members of the troupes, but we know to a certainty that wives did sometimes go along. For example, Sackville and two of his troupe, at least, were thus accompanied at Frankfort in 1597. Spencer's wife collected the entrance money at Rothenburg in 1613, and she and his children shared in his business-like conversion to Catholicism at Cologne in 1615. Doubtless they were counted in the large number credited to him at that time. We may imagine that the young sons of the manager could act as the Roman mob, or serve some other useful purpose. Moreover, a portion of the company was certainly made up of youths who played the female rôles and went through their apprenticeship at the same time. In his application to the council in June, 1618, Browne says that none of his company had ever played in Strassburg except "2 Jungen." He may, of course, have had more than these two with him. And while this incidental mention of youths in Browne's company is the only scrap of positive evidence we find in the records, the use of young people in all the companies is not to be doubted. They must have served for less than the regular wages of experienced actors, often probably receiving nothing above their bare expenses. We know that of the six actors hired for Elector Johann Sigismund in 1614 two were to have only half pay, which may have been due to their youth or other causes.

After the troupes began to use German another device lessened their cost to the managers. This was the practice of employing stage-struck Germans to fill up the vacancies in a company. Thus Spencer depleted the ranks of the mastersingers at Augsburg in 1614.¹ While the records are again scanty on this point, we may be sure that the device, in one form or another, was not employed merely on this occasion. Such recruits were doubtless ill paid, and while they helped keep up the membership of a company, they decreased the manager's outgo.

There is, of course, no way of proving now what the attendance at most of the representations was, but 500 seems a not unreasonable average. The few statistics on the subject may find place here. The lowest attendance mentioned was at Brunswick, where we are told that on one occasion in the year 1614 "ein englischer Komödiant" had "kein Volk" and was given an indemnity of one thaler by the council. At Nuremberg in July, 1628, the attendance for eight performances varied between 515 and 2,665, the average being 1,595. At Regensburg in October, 1613, a company, presumably under Spencer, took in more than 500 florins in one day. At the price which we have assumed for admittance that meant an attendance of 10,000. The price must have been raised or more than one representation given. We must, in fact, assume that both these things were done to make it conceivable that such a sum could be earned. The highest receipts on one day at Nuremberg at the representations just mentioned were a little over 266 florins, the price of admission being six kreuzers. The company had one-half the net receipts and earned a trifle over 661 florins in the eight representations, which, by the way, lasted two weeks.

¹ Herz, p. 48.

Becker's report of his investigation of inns at Frankfort where these English Comedians used to play has been accessible to me only at second hand,¹ and his basis for estimating that the inn yards most employed there for the purpose had space for only two or three hundred spectators is therefore unknown to me. He estimates that a fair, lasting three weeks, meant only an average of eight or ten guldens per actor. This seems incredible in view of the fact that Frankfort was always a favorite stopping-place of the English comedians. Moreover, Moryson says explicitly of the autumn fair of 1592 that "the Germans . . . both men and women flocked wonderfully" to see the representations, and it is equally incredible that he, who boasts of the London theaters "capable of many thousands,"² would have considered an attendance of 300 a wonderful flocking. His statement, by the way, refutes Herz's assumption that the first venture at Frankfort was a failure.

In the early years of their tours in Germany, and probably to the end in most places, the English companies undoubtedly had to use whatever place they could find for their representations, the town hall, the precincts of a cloister, the "shoe house" (as at Ulm), the fencing school, the inn yard. But wherever they played in the first years, and possibly later also, a considerable number of the spectators must have been compelled to stand. This we should have a right to assume without evidence, but direct proof is not wanting. At Cologne in February, 1607, a company was forbidden to charge more than two albus for the persons "so kein Gesteiger gebrauchen" and three albus for the others. So at Nuremberg in June, 1613, the council ordered that the actors should not take over three kreuzers from a

¹ *Jahresberichte für neuere deutsche Literaturgeschichte*, vol. 3, III, 4, 24.

² *Shakespeare's Europe*, p. 476.

person "und dann 3 kr. für einen sitz oder auff den gang." We find a double charge several times at Frankfort, which may indicate that part of the spectators stood, a view which is supported by a doggerel poem of 1615 wherein it is said that people would rather stand four hours to hear the English comedians than sit one hour in church.¹ With part of the spectators standing, a crowd of several hundred could easily get into a comparatively small space. Under these conditions, even the small towns visited briefly on the route between larger cities could furnish some place, either under roof or open to the heavens, where more than 500 spectators might congregate.

The ability of these companies to draw crowds on occasions is evidenced further by the reports from Münster in November, 1601, Nuremberg in October, 1612, and June, 1613, and Cologne in March, 1626. Moryson states that in the Netherlands and Germany these English actors were "followed by the people from one town to another."² A chief attraction was their music and fine attire. Their representations were, in fact, akin to the modern variety show in many respects, the clown, the dancer, and the juggler having full swing between the acts and probably often in them. It is, therefore, easy to see why crowds should follow them, especially as Germany had been used only to the old type of religious and Shrove-tide play. To the smaller towns the coming of the English comedians must have been much like the advent of a circus in one of

¹ Die Englische Comedianten
Haben mehr Leucht den Predicanten,
Da lieber 4 stund stehn hören zu,
Dan ein in die Kirch, da sie mit Ruhe
Flux einschlaffen auff ein hart banck,
Dieweil ein stund in felt zu lang.

Mentzel, p. 58.

² *Shakespeare's Europe*, p. 476.

our rural regions to-day. It is true that the managers often complain of bad business in their petitions, but that must have been usually merely a device for working on the sympathies of the council and securing permission to play longer. Doubtless there was small attendance at many a representation, but as the troupes never played long at a place and came only at long intervals, we must believe that good attendance was the rule, and that the estimate of 500 is a moderate average.

The price of admission is mentioned occasionally in the records. The following summary, complete so far as my observation goes, is given here for the more important places, the name of the town preceding in each case: Ulm, one pfennig in August, 1594, and March, 1597, one kreuzer in October, 1600, and June, 1602, two kreuzers in November, 1602, November, 1603, August, 1606, August, 1609, August, 1614; Nuremberg, one batzen in April, 1596, half a batzen in October, 1612, three kreuzers and three kreuzers additional "für einen sitz oder auff den gang" in June, 1616, three kreuzers in May, 1618, six kreuzers in July, 1628; Strassburg, three kreuzers in August, 1596, July, 1597, December, 1599, June, 1601, June, 1605, one shilling in May, 1614, three kreuzers, but soon increased to one batzen, in June, 1618; Frankfort, one albus (= two kreuzers) in September, 1597, "sonsten 8 d und vff den gengen nur 4 d" at both fairs in 1601, eight and four pfennigs at Easter, 1603, eight pfennigs at Easter, 1605, and in August, 1606, and September, 1610, one albus at Easter, 1614; Memmingen, four kreuzers in February, 1600; Cologne, four albus (the albus was of less value here than at Frankfort) in April, 1600, two, and then three, albus in June, 1603, two albus for those "so kein Gesteiger gebrauchen" and three albus for others in February, 1607, two albus in December, 1613, and again in 1615; Münster, one shilling

in November, 1601, and August, 1612; Danzig, three groshens in August, 1615 and 1616, two groshens in August, 1619. In South Germany, to which the statistics mainly refer, the troupes evidently tried to establish a charge of one batzen and were commonly compelled by the council to take three kreuzers, or less. Still, they must have often succeeded in getting the higher entrance fee in cases where the records are silent. Indeed, when Browne was allowed to raise his price from three kreuzers to one batzen at Strassburg in June, 1618, he stated explicitly that he had been charging the larger sum elsewhere. The average of three kreuzers, which we have assumed, seems therefore abundantly justified.

Moreover, scanty hints in the records seem to indicate that this charge was really only for general admission, that is, for standing room or for the less desirable seats, and that consequently many of the spectators paid a larger fee. This is proved in a few cases by the double prices mentioned in the summary just given. We may perhaps regard this practice as the rule rather than the exception. The probability that many stood increases the probability that many also paid an additional charge. From the allusions, already quoted, to the "gang" and the "Gesteiger" and further, at Frankfort in September, 1610, to the "genge und Kellerey" we are perhaps justified in believing that the space nearest the stage was occupied by those standing, while rising seats at an increased price were erected at the sides and rear, or when the inn yards were used, their surrounding galleries (*i. e.*, genge, as Trautmann suggests¹) were more expensive. A partial offset to these higher prices was furnished by the free admissions, doubtless limited in number, which we find required at Ulm in November, 1602 and 1603, and August, 1614, and at Danzig in August, 1615. This may have been

¹ *Archiv für Literaturgeschichte*, xiv, p. 127.

a common arrangement. Besides, the managers were sometimes ordered to give a sample representation free, as at Nuremberg in April, 1596.

A rough estimate of the supposed value of a representation is furnished by the payments for performances at certain of the courts under conditions that lead us to believe that no entrance fee was charged. A few such payments, where the number of representations is positively known, will suffice. Thus, 300 florins were paid for about seven representations at Tübingen in May, 1597, 30 florins for one "comedy" and then 40 florins for its repetition at Munich in 1597, and 30 florins for another in 1607, 75 florins for one representation at Dresden in October, 1600, 400 thalers for eleven representations at Graz in February, 1608. With a single admission price of three kreuzers it would take an audience of 600 to bring in 30 florins, so that these payments at court agree roughly with our estimates. The occasions especially set apart for the presence of the members of the town council and their families were of a different nature, for the public was also admitted on payment of a fee. The council usually added a gratuity, as, for example, 16 florins at Nördlingen in May, 1605, and 24 guldens at Ulm in November, 1602. For performances at coronations and other great festivities, where an entrance fee was charged, the giving of gratuities was not uncommon. Probably none of these were larger than the sum of 200 guldens given to Spencer by Kaiser Matthias at Regensburg in October, 1613.

Certain other expenses of the managers, of which we have here and there a record, point to receipts which must have been large for the times. Machin and Reeves paid at the Frankfort fair at Easter, 1605, the considerable rent of 46 florins for the place where they played and 10 florins for erecting and as much for taking down what is called

their "Gerüst." This probably meant their stage and possibly the seats also. Spencer paid 22 florins weekly for rent and 135 florins for his stage at Regensburg in October, 1613. Green complained at Danzig in August, 1615, that his rent was two ducats daily and that the preparation of "Gallerey, bancken vnnd andere Zubehörung" cost 100 marks. The city of Nuremberg took half the net receipts in lieu of rent in July, 1628. What amounted to a charge for rent, or possibly an addition to it, was the stipulation of payment to some organization, charitable or otherwise. Thus, we hear of 50 thalers for the orphans at Cologne in March, 1626, two thalers daily to a guild at Strassburg in June, 1618, 1,000 guildens to St. Jakob's church at Danzig in August, 1636. As time progressed, such charges tended to increase, doubtless keeping pace with a general rise of prices.

The scant testimony on the point shows a general contemporary belief in the prosperity of these companies. This is borne out by the evidence of Röchell's chronicle for Münster in November, 1601, of Stark's chronicle for Nuremberg in October, 1612, and June, 1613, as well as by the passages already cited from Moryson.

Taken all in all, the comparatively few facts that we can cull from the contemporary records seem to prove conclusively that this English invasion of Germany, which must have had for its chief motive the hope of financial gain, was measurably successful in accomplishing the ends sought. Of course, the averages which we have assumed are in a way misleading. The actors naturally did not share alike. Some received more, some less. And the manager, who commonly took for himself the most popular and profitable rôle, that of the low comedian, undoubtedly looked out for the lion's share of the profits and suffered the chief loss, when loss came. He could, however, find sources of gain

for himself in sums saved on the salaries of the less influential members of his troupe and in the substantial reduction in the per capita cost of board and transportation possible when ten or twenty people traveled together. The cost of living based on Moryson's expenses as a lone traveler represents therefore a possible margin of considerable profit. Barn-storming was then, as now, a precarious occupation, but these English wanderers surely fared as well as their German successors of a century or more later who rallied about Mrs. Neuber, or Schönemann, or Koch.

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